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liberty in discussion, individual initiative, suspended judgment, willingness to abide by the decision of an arbiter, sympathetic attention to the argument of one's opponents, the teachable mind, these are in a military nation intolerable, in some cases punishable by death. Furthermore, a compulsory military service means a censored press, the choking of opinion and the strangling of liberty, for we cannot conscript bodies without conscripting minds. European compulsory military service has meant a conscripted press, a conscripted education, a conscripted religion, conscripted wealth, and a world war. Social and moral principles in a conscription State are necessarily subordinate to that State, at least so far as the conscription wing of the Government can make them. What the rivalries of religious groups were prior to 1648, our political rivalries are today. The inquisition and religious wars have for their counterparts today military conscription and political butcheries.

In an ungoverned world such as ours, we are unable to say what ought and ought not to be done with our military machine, save that it ought to be efficient; but

with our thinking, our views, and our freedom of expression, there can be no question. The killing of religious heretics got the world of religion nowhere. The killing of political heretics, as in the present war, can of itself get the world nowhere. Conscription is an attempt to curtail the freedom of men's actions and expressions. That means the closing of the safety valve of the nation, and must lead directly to an explosion. Militarism may be a necessary medicine, but, as Mr. Angell has recently pointed out, it is a medicine which will kill the patient unless sooner or later he can get along without it. America has been showing the world how to get along without this poisonous drug, at least its most poisonous ingredient known as conscription. Most of our best institutions have been largely built up by persons who left a conscripted Europe for an unscripted America. Conscription is so unwise, contrary to the principles of our government, aristocratic, feudal, and dangerous, so altogether out of harmony with our institutions and ideals that we had believed even the idea of it simply intolerable to the American mind.

THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

THE Twenty-second Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration was held May 17, 18, and 19. The attention of the members was directed to such questions as: The Possibilities of International Co-operation in the Creation or Development of Conciliatory, Arbitral, or Judicial Machinery for Adjudication of International Differences; Are Large Armaments, as such, Either Provocatives of War or Deterrents of Arbitral and Judicial Settlement of International Differences; Possibilities of International Co-operation in Determining the Necessity, if any, for and Regulating the Use of Military Force, Economic Pressure, or Other Sanctions; Possibilities of International Co-operation to Increase Pan American Influence Against War; Race Issues; The Economic Motive as a Factor in War; The Monroe Doctrine; Nationalism; The Rights of Neutrals; The League to Enforce Peace, were all discussed, some with scholarly care, some with indignant fervor, and some with stirring pathos. After the first session, which was presided over by James Brown Scott, the presiding officer was William Howard Taft. William Jennings Bryan delivered an address in the midst of which, having delighted all, but far overrun the time limit, he turned to Mr. Taft and asked: "How much time have I left?" Shaking himself quickly together, Mr. Taft replied, with surprise: "I was following you, and not the time." The spontaneous graciousness of this reply was typical of Mr. Taft's altogether charming qualities as a presiding officer.

Prof. Edward A. Steiner's analysis of his own Americanism, in spite of his German birth, struck probably the deepest note of emotional appeal. The personalities contained in the address by George Haven Putnam were unfortunate and discordant. The defense of The League to Enforce Peace by Mr. Taft, Mr. Herbert S. Houston, and others, was challenged by such speakers as Alpheus H. Snow, George W. Kirchwey, and Mr. Bryan. Prof. Edward H. Krehbiel spoke upon the subject, "Nationalism, an Anachronism," and Dr. Eugene Wambaugh developed twelve articles relating to the adjustment of international law, regarding the rights and duties of neutrals, to changing conditions and specific emergencies. Rear-Admiral Austin M. Knight, president of the Naval War College at Newport, developed the view that large armaments as such do not provoke war, while Prof. William I. Hull and Dr. Charles E. Jefferson insisted that they do.

The platform unanimously adopted by the Conference reads:

"The world conditions of the past two years have confirmed the belief, often expressed in these conferences, that arbitral and judicial methods should and must increasingly prevail in settling international disputes.

"During the twentieth century the Permanent Court at The Hague has acted upon cases involving questions relating to Europe, Asia, Africa, the islands of the Pacific, and the three Americas. These questions involved financial and territorial claims, and such fundamental matters as the right to fly the national flag and to exercise jurisdiction over national military forces. These facts are clear testimony to the development of arbitration.

"The tendency of this court at The Hague to become in

reality permanent is evident from the fact there are eight judges who have sat in three or more of the fifteen cases and one judge who has sat in seven of the fifteen cases.

"The conference desires again to affirm its belief in the desirability of such legislation by Congress as will confer upon the courts of the United States jurisdiction over all cases arising under treaty provisions or affecting the rights of aliens."

These Mohonk Conferences are rich opportunities for advancing valued friendships, mutual understandings and sympathies. The atmosphere of genuine hospitality, furnished so abundantly and with such delicate and unstudied courtesy by Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, naturally colors and directs the speech and conversation of the guests. The place is beautiful, the occasion significant. Dr. William T. Harris once said that a person who studies Latin fifteen minutes will never be the same person again. Attendance upon one Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, with its *camaraderie* and good will, leaves an indelible impression that international peace is desirable and attainable. To have attended one of them means the attainment of an additional spiritual asset, enduring and worth while. The twenty-second of these conferences was fully worthy of its place in the long and inspiring series.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY BEFORE CONGRESS

ON March 13 last three representatives of the American Peace Society appeared before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives and pleaded for two specific things, namely, a program of preparedness in terms of international organization and, secondly, for the resolution to which we have here tofore referred, known as the Shafroth amendment, an amendment which prevents the expenditure of money under the appropriation should an international court render "unnecessary the maintenance of competitive armaments."

The naval appropriation bill was agreed upon by the House Naval Affairs Committee on Thursday, May 18, the seventeenth anniversary of the beginning of The Hague Conference. The bill includes the Shafroth amendment exactly as recommended by this Society. Furthermore, it includes a resolution introduced by Mr. Hensley, of Missouri, and adopted by unanimous vote as follows:

"Upon conclusion of the war in Europe, or as soon after as it may be done, the President of the United States is authorized to invite all great governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of proposing an organization, court of arbitration, or other body to which questions of disagreement between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement and to consider the question of disarmament and to submit their recommendations to their respective governments for approval."

The resolution further authorizes the appointment of

nine men to represent the United States in such conferences and appropriates \$200,000 for their salary and all expenses.

Whether or not these two important features of the naval bill prove acceptable to the House and to the Senate, it is encouraging that the two proposals of this Society have been found unanimously acceptable to the committee. They may be designated as two concrete results following the work of the American Peace Society. Whatever the fate of the armament appropriation bills, these two amendments, which contain nothing that is hostile to the national welfare, and much that may be helpful to the international welfare, including our own, should be passed.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Obstacles in the Way of Peace.

We are frequently asked, Why does President Wilson do nothing to bring about peace? Why isn't the American Peace Society trying to stop this war? The people who ask these questions seem to ignore the world situation. Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy feel that peace at this time would at best be but a return to the conditions that existed before the war. This would mean to all intents a victory for Germany. There have been no proposals by one side in any sense hopeful or agreeable to the other. The entente powers consider that the central powers have reached the maximum of their ability in men, munitions, and other resources, while they themselves are just approaching their greatest strength. The central powers reverse the situation and are still hopeful that they will defeat the entente. Russia has not yet opened the road to Constantinople, and is unwilling, therefore, seriously to consider any peace proposals. France hopes not only to turn to her own advantage the terrible and unsuccessful attacks upon Verdun, but believes that, with the aid of British soldiers, she will yet turn the German right flank and force a retreat to German soil. Even in case of a military deadlock or stalemate, the entente allies have great hopes that, with the continued more or less effective blockade by the British fleet, the commercial breakdown of the central powers will soon follow. In any event, it is neither clear that there is to be a deadlock nor that an early peace can possibly be durable.

Neither side has asked the President of the United States to offer his aid. There is no reason, therefore, for repeating the friendly offer of mediation presented by the President early in the history of the war. It is reasonable to presume that the one man in all the world most anxious to help in the establishment of the peace is Woodrow Wilson. To urge him to mediate can do no harm, but it seems to us that it can do little good.